Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [55] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umena onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

The following diagram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the adjectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that are normally used. The diagram does not include some special cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
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● 768 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.

Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

A different set of terms, which are considered more poetic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [763] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

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ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

8;Kosdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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[p. 42-A]

765 775 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in [789] advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 768 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were considered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transubstantiated* that they could be of service to the newly arrived shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. Another reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palmnuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

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836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] [439] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for ● 768 the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most 436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

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765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
●[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

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765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar [534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little [535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam. 765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild 768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air [534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen [562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

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765 [768] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and everything thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a [535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green [535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the [768] parĩko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the [755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted arõe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/509 cont./

765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already for-
[534] gotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

●[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The ●768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured